4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Lower your crests, ye mountains high,
That we may the moon descry
Sailing through the azure sky.
Our bride her mother's counsels heard,
Who said, "My daughter, mark my word,
Love and respect your father new."
"That, mother will I gladly do—
I'll love and honour him alway
Who's given to me a bridegroom gay."

On Monday morning, the homes of both bride and bridegroom are thronged with guests, sometimes to the number of several hundreds. Each one brings an *oka*[1] of coffee and another of sugar for the benefit of the house, and at the same time presents the bride with a gold coin, the value of which varies with the degree of relationship of the giver. These coins are subsequently strung into necklaces, and constitute part of the personal property of a married woman.

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At early dawn the bride is dressed in her wedding finery, decked with all her jewels, and, at sunrise, is led to a corner of the principal reception-room. Here custom requires her to stand, motionless and speechless, with downcast eyes and hands crossed on her breast, until she starts for her new home. Two women, posted at either side, keep watch and ward over her, and the rest of the female guests, seated round the room on the divans, stare at the poor girl as if she were the idol of their worship. At meal-times, on this and the two following days, she eats alone, covered with a veil, though if she is anxious to make a good impression she will partake of food only

[1] About 2¾ lbs. avoirdupois.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

family's means permitted, and that there was a sufficiency of coffee, sugar and cigarettes to maintain its dignity with visitors. He must also pay government dues and instalments of the price of any bride who was marrying into the family. Until the newer ways of to-day came in, he had further to buy a rifle for every youth in the family who came of military age. If he sent another man to market in his stead, as he was entitled to do, he often put a reserve price on the produce and always instructed his deputy about what he was to buy. On his return the latter must give a full account of his stewardship, saying what he had received for the produce and what he had spent, proving that he had made no unauthorized purchases, and handing over the remaining money intact. If the master grew so physically incapacitated that he could no longer make the long, arduous journey over the mountains to market (*pazàr*), he usually appointed one of the others, preferably the future master, to the permanent post of 'bazaar-man'. The latter then kept the family purse, but in other respects remained subordinate to the master.

It resulted naturally from the master's hold on the family purse that only he could lend money or contract a debt recoverable in law. If any of his subordinates made a loan or pledged the family credit on behalf of a friend, the borrower might lawfully repudiate the debt on the plea that it was not lawfully contracted. Generally, however, the master first scolded the culprit well for transgressing the law and then told the borrower that the loan was made on his authority, so leaving him no option but to repay it. In the same way, when subordinates borrowed, both they and the master were within their rights if they said the loan was illegally contracted and refused to repay it. More often than not, for the honour of the family, the master paid up. Again, in such matters as going surety for a loan, a woman's chastity, or a man's life, which were great features of Albanian life, only the master might act, subject to one exception. Each man's rifle and revolver were his personal property—to keep, to barter, to sell or to pledge without any reference to the master. Consequently, each subordinate might go surety up to the value of his arms. He usually did so with circumspection, however, for if he lost them he must not ask the master to replace them. The master was also responsible for any material damage done to a neighbour by his subordinates. If, for instance, they had stolen or killed a cow, or had set fire to a haystack, it was

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500 to 50 *grosh* ('piastres') a year, payable in two instalments, the first after six months' service and the second at the end of his term.

According to a list from Shkrel where wages were still on an 'all-found' basis, a servant must be given a complete set of clothes —a shirt, drawers, cloth cap, scarf, cow-hide sandals, socks, trousers and sleeveless jacket. He got sandals as often as he needed a new pair, and a set of the other things three times a year: when first engaged, at the end of three months, and during his last month. On leaving he was given three okes of wool, which his female relatives could work up for him.

Disputes hardly ever arose over the servant's food or clothes, but were common about his work. As an Albanian of Koplik said picturesquely, 'Before a man is hired he talks like an angel, and then turns out a devil', so that 'half the men who lie in cemeteries have died of worry over servants'. The same speaker told a lively folk-tale of a master who was delighted to get a servant cheap and then found him come very dear indeed. Every time he asked him to do something, the man said it had not been mentioned in their bargain and he could not do it unless he got a rise in wages. Little attempt to get 'references' seems to have been made, perhaps because in the old days a would-be servant would have shot the giver of an adverse 'character' for slandering him. There was also a feeling that a servant's engagement was too temporary to take seriously. Once when the author inquired uneasily about a servant she had been urged to hire, an old mountaineer replied, 'What does it matter? you're not going to marry him'.

'Any gains made or any damage done by a servant are his master's', said the law. If, for instance, a servant somehow gained a horse, he could not send it to his own family, but must give it to his master. On the loss side of the ledger, if a servant unintentionally damaged a neighbour's property, say, by killing his horse, it was not he but his master who must make restitution, and his master could not keep back any of his wages for that purpose. Fining a servant was absolutely forbidden.

The relations of master and man with each other and with the outside world were regulated in detail by the Unwritten Law, using the servant's wages as its chief instrument. Thus if the two parted prematurely, the master being to blame, he must pay the servant his full wages for the year. When the servant was to blame, he had no right to more than the money for which he had so far

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value or money compensation to the other. In the cases, frequent enough, where each had had his own implements before the separation, he took these with him to his new home.

Beehives too were divided on the offset or compensation system; they were seldom enough to go round the brothers. Honey was divided on a food basis, equally among old and young.

Household utensils such as spoons, milk cogs, churns, wash-tubs, pots, saucepans and all wooden and earthenware vessels were also divided equally among the brothers. After being taken out of the house they were stacked in piles, one for each brother under the direction of whoever divided the property. It was almost never possible to find an article of the same type for each brother. So an article was laid on one pile and the offset on the others. Less often, an article of which there was only one was valued and a proportionate share of its value paid by its new owner to his brothers. There was never any furniture in the sense of tables, chairs and bedsteads to divide. At most, there were reed mats and straw-stuffed cushions in the sitting-room and some wooden stools in the kitchen. The stools might be divided equally among the brothers; the other things were generally treated as part of the house and left where they were.

Certain articles in the house were not subject to division. These included the portable oven, flour-bin, tongs, shovel and kitchen-crook, which were the symbols of family life; and the mill, caddy, and cups forming the coffee outfit, which was the symbol of guest-friendship. The former remained in the kitchen and the latter in the sitting-room, irrespective of whether these rooms had been separated or left to one brother. Above all, it was unlucky to move the kitchen-crook; it was almost as sacred as the fire on the hearth on whose continuance depended the continuance of the family. Very occasionally, however, it was allotted like the rest of the property. Other articles were considered individual property and excluded from division on that account. These included the jack-knife, gun and revolver carried by each man (at least in the not-so-distant past), the trousseaux brought by the married women or being made by the girls, and the married women's pocket-money, wedding presents, possessions and livestock, or money lent at interest. All these continued to be the sole property of their owners. Bedding too was individual property, each brother's having been brought by his wife as part of her trousseau. If the